1:Campbell E-5 (1954-1955)1964
EH14 Sarakatsani EH14
Zagori

562 233 reason that it breaks the smooth rhythm of its grazing but also because her presence in some way affronts the sheep and might cause disease. *A fortiori* a woman never milks a sheep. Yet there 562 is no rigid avoidance. And, in fact, women regularly do the 462 heavy work in building sheep-folds or moving them to a new 233 site when they are fouled with mud and dung. And relays of women at dawn and dusk bring down the newly born lambs with their mothers from the flock to the clean and better protected sheep-fold near the huts. They are, however, by preference, unmarried girls (τσοῦπρες).

562 462 But in relation to the division of labour, the complementary opposition of the sexes in fact turns less upon the opposition of sheep and goats and is more concerned with a wider and more important distinction. Men are occupied with their extensive duties of grazing and protecting the flocks, women within or immediately around the hut, with its central hearth and fire which gives physical warmth and spiritual protection, are concerned with the intensive tasks of the care of children and the [156] provision of food, clothes, and shelter for their family. The expressive role of the woman within the family hut accentuates the quality of motherhood, not sexuality, and it is consistent with this aspect of her social personality that the shepherd brings a sick sheep to his hut to be nursed and cared for by the women. It is a woman who ties a ewe which has lost its lamb to the wall of the hut by a short cord so that it cannot sit, and patiently persuades it to accept the lamb of another ewe which has borne twins.

462 The assistance women give in the care of the animals is their direct contribution to the stani. Their work within the hut [252] concerns only their own family. These tasks are manifold. They [322] care for the children, cook, bake bread on the open hearth, cut [312] wood or bushes for the fire, carry water in barrels from the [462] spring, sometimes from a very considerable distance. In the stream, or spring, they also wash the clothes of their family. [222] They search the mountain slopes for wild vegetables and herbs [241] and in the summer villages they cultivate a small vegetable [235] garden in which onions, beans, and lettuces are grown. They [437] also keep a few hens. Some of the eggs are kept for the children but the majority are bartered in the village shop for dyes and CCD other small needs. A man may occasionally give his wife a kid

/77 cont./
343 branches and given a coating of potter's clay; the place of an opening
333 always being kept. As in the preceding construction a space is left
252 after the opening. When the outer coating is sufficiently dry the heap of stones is removed by drawing them out one by one through the opening; then the oven is lighted.

Thus, the branches remaining inside are burned up and the clay hardens.

343 c) The chicken coop: this small building for the chickens could
235 have been described together with the shelters for animals.

However, since this very limited husbandry belongs in the category of domestic activities, we have deemed it preferable to classify the chicken coop under this same heading.

There are two types of chicken coops among the Sarakatsani: one is a small building of stones 40 to 50 centimeters high and 80 centimeters wide, clothed /surrounded?/ with boughs and covered with straw. This type of building presents nothing exceptional, and one sees similar ones no matter where.

/78/ The other type is a tiny round hut, a veritable miniature of the dwelling hut already described. Figure 61 adequately shows this type of chicken coop; it is unecessary to dwell specially on a description of it. (18)

[178] [361]

18. The existence of a chicken coop among a Sarakatsani group gives evidence, in most cases, as to whether they are transhumant or turning towards a sedentary life. The chicken coop is thus a sign of "transition."

/78 cont./

343
235

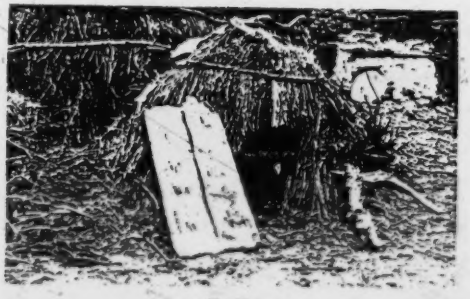

Fig. 61

342 Interior arrangement of the dwelling and its outbuildings:

In general, the interior of the large huts intended for dwellings (both round and rectangular) is arranged in the following manner:

On the earth of the hut, carefully leveled out beforehand, one applies a bed of mud mixed with straw or dung, which will form a solid crust. This work is done entirely by hand. All around the hut and along the walls one builds, with a mixture of earth and pebbles, a low wall 30 centimeters high and about 40 to 60 centimeters thick, which one then coats with the mixture of mud and straw of which we have already spoken (fig. 62).

/81 cont./

343 With respect to the arrangement of the various huts not intended for dwellings we may state in general:

1st that they have no hearth.

2nd that their floor is not coated with the mixture of mud and straw described above, and that they do not have an inside wall.

[352] 3rd that some are equipped with "beds" (benches).

343 417 The /interior/ arrangement of the frétzato varies according to the use for which it is intended. We have already distinguished between the frétzato attached to the hut and the free-standing frétzato, the latter occuring either as /82/ a round frétzato or a rectangular frétzato.

[354] [352] In the center of the fretzato attached to the hut there is a hearth similar to the one we have already described. Likewise, "beds" run along the ellipsoidal walls.

The earth of the "tsardhaki"--whether it is part of a fretzato or stands alone--is always overlaid with a dry covering of interlaced twigs of boughs supported by very short forks (according to the customary procedure), which constitutes kind of floor.

[354] In the round, free-standing frétzato (the photoghoni) there is nothing but the center hearth (fig. 59).

343 [252] Save for the mode of construction, the interior of the oven is not unusual in any way.

[235] Lastly, the floor of the chicken coop has straw scattered on it and, where the size permits, perches are fastened to the walls.

343 Buildings intended for animals.

233 417 In connection with the study of the variations of the hut we indicated that some of the huts are also for the care of the animals.

Nevertheless, this use, being, as it were, merely supplementary, attention should be focussed on the structures intended exclusively for the livestock. Now, the latter may be divided into shelters and buildings used for work with the flocks.

(See p. 84--Analyst)

/87 cont./

343 Constructions for working with the livestock

The stroungha: the Sarakatsani build enclosures made of bundles of shrubs arranged in a ring and attached to posts set vertically at varying intervals, which they call stroungha.

Round or elliptical, these enclosures are provided with two openings diametrically opposite each other, one of which serves as entrance, the other as exit. On both sides of the second opening are placed two huge stones on which sit the shepherds entrusted with these tasks (fig. 73 and 75).

This very simple structure has no special interest from the point of view of building method.

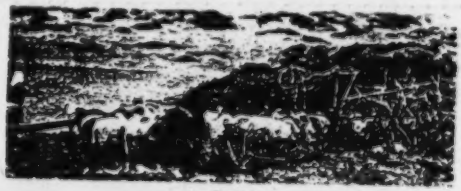

Fig. 73

233 /88/ Herding

Herding is the cornerstone of the entire economic system of the Sarakatsani who are first of all herders of sheep, but also sometimes have large flocks of goats. Although pigs and fowl are also raised, their number is insignificant and boils down to an additional source of subsistence, but a very limited one. (19)

231 235

19. Neither pigs nor poultry can travel great distances. Nomadic peoples do not raise them. The Sarakatsani keep only a few which they transport on the backs of mules.

(492)

A (Fig. 75 appears on p. 109--Analyst)

596 /159 cont./
264 The meals, which the women take care of each in turn, are taken
[562] together, allowing for the inevitable separation by sex.

If the shepherds find themselves a relatively short distance from
[233] the camp, but nevertheless too far to be able to leave their flocks at mealtime, it is not unusual for a woman or a child to bring them their food.

596 The work then, which is performed jointly, follows the rule of
462 division of tasks according to sex, as shown in the following plan:

Work reserved exclusively for men: the wood craft, the preparation of skins, herding and transactions with the outside.

Work done by the women: the working of wool, the making of clothing building, gathering, the preparation of foods and of bread, lighting and fire.

This division of tasks is the general rule, a rule which naturally involves exceptions and subtle distinctions, chief of which are:

[825] The care and maintenance of goats is left to the women because goats
[233] "are possessed by the devil." Thus, the men must not touch them. They limit themselves with leading them to pasture. All the rest is incumbent on the women, inasmuch as the Sarakatsani believe that women are more competent than the men to enter into relations with unknown forces.

[23] The occasioned raising of pigs and poultry is likewise left to
[235] the women.

[361] We have seen that the leading and the protection of the flocks in
[22] the course of seasonal migrations is the business of the men. The
[484] women take care of the transportation of all belongings and the setting-up of the camp.

[236] The shearing of the sheep is work generally done by the men, although the help of the women is sometimes required. On the other hand, the shearing of goats is an exclusively female task.

[234] In milking, men and women cooperate without differentiation.

[313] The gathering of wood for making various objects is a task for men,
[322]